

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1432
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 4281
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 3473

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FROM LOW

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4
TAGS: PDEV, PINT, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: CONVERSATION WITH ARNE PALLEY

1. GRAHAM AND LOW MET WITH ARNE PALLEY, LEGAL ADVISER TO THE UANC, ON JUNE 12. PALLEY SAID THAT HE NO LONGER WAS AS CLOSE TO THE BISHOP AS HE HAD BEEN DURING THE EARLY DAYS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE BISHOP WAS NOW TURNING TO HIS MORE TRADITIONAL ADVSERS FROM TRIBAL AREAS.

2. AS PALLEY SEES IT, IT WILL BE THREE OR FOUR MONTHS BEFORE THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT LEADERS ARE READY TO GO TO A CONFERENCE. SITHOLE AND CHIRAU WILL HOLD OUT LONGEST.

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CHIKEREMA AND BULLE ALSO ARE BASICALLY COMMITTED TO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THEY ARE ENJOYING THEIR POSITIONS OF POWER (\$3,000 A MONTH PLUS EXPENSES FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND \$2,000 FOR MINISTERS), AND THEY FEEL THAT ONCE JANUARY 1 COMES THEY CAN CONTROL THE SITUATION TO MAINTAIN THEMSELVES IN POWER. SUPPORT FOR AN ALL PARTIES

MEETING WILL COME, PALLEY BELIEVES, FROM SMITH IN THREE OR FOUR MONTHS WHEN HE BECOMES CONFINCED THAT HIS ATTEMPT TO END THE WAR HAS FAILED. SIMILARY MUZOREWA WHO HAS A POLITICAL BASE AND CAN MAINTAIN AUTHORITY INDEPENDENT OF SMITH AND THE SECURITY FORCES, WILL RECOGNIZE THAT HIS POLITICAL BASE IS ERODING AND THAT HE WILL HAVE TO MOVE TOWARDS THE MORE MILITANT GROUPS.

3. PALLEY HAS BECOME CONVINCED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT DYNAMIC IN POLITICAL SUPPORT IS TRIBAL. MUZOREWA, HE SAYS, CAN COUNT ON SUPPORT FROM THE MANYIKA KORE KORE, GIVING HIM ABOUT 50 PERCENT OF THE VOTE. NKOMO CAN COUNT ON THE MATEBELE, KALANGA AND TONGA WITH ABOUT 25 PERCENT OF THE VOTE AND MUGABE ON THE KARANGA WITH ABOUT 22 PERCENT OF THE VOTE. SITHOLE AND CHIRAU BETWEEN THEM CAN HARDLY COMMAND 5 PERCENT IN A FREE ELECTION. PALLEY BELIEVES FURTHERMORE THAT THE EROSION OF MUZOREWA'S SUPPORT IN THE URBAN AREAS IS NOT SIGNIFICANT IN THE FACE OF HIS ABSOLUTELY SOLID TRIBAL SUPPORT IN THE MANYIKA AREAS.

4. PALLEY HAS NO DOUBT THAT THE WAR WILL CONTINUE AND INCREASE IN VIOLENCE. HE GIVES LITTLE CHANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT CEASEFIRE PROGRAM. HE IS, THEREFORE, CONVINCED THAT SOONER OR LATER THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT PEOPLE WILL COME TO US REQUESTING THE ALL PARTIES MEETING. HE BELIEVES, HOWEVER, WE HAVE STARTED TOO
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EARLY, ALTHOUGH HE SUPPORTS OUR PLAN TO REMAIN IN THE AREA TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ANY CHANGES OF VIEW WHICH MAY OCCUR.

5. COMMENT: I BELIEVE PALLEY'S ADVICE IS GENERALLY SOUND, THOUGH IN MY VIEW SMITH WILL COME AROUND TO SEEKING A CONFERENCE EARLIER THAN PALLEY BELIEVES. FURTHERMORE, I BELIEVE HE PUTS MORE EMPHASIS ON TRIBAL AFFILIATION THAN MOST OBSERVERS WHO ARE AS CLOSELY INVOLVED AND HAVE BEEN AROUND AS LONG AS HE. 25 TO 30 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION COMES FROM THE URBAN AREAS. THEY WILL PROBABLY MAKE UP AN EVEN LARGER PERCENTAGE OF THOSE WHO VOTE. PALLEY RECOGNIZES THAT THE UNIVERSITY INTELLECTUALS, TRADE UNIONISTS, AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS ARE LIKELY TO BE MOTIVATED BY OTHER THAN TRIBAL AFFILIATION. IT WOULD SEEM, THEREFORE, THAT THIS ELEMENT OF THE POPULATION PLAYS A MORE IMPORTANT ROLE THAN HE MAY HAVE GIVEN IT CREDIT FOR DOING.
EDMONDSON

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